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JAPAN'S ODA TO THE PHILIPPINES

# Japan Assumes Prominent Role in Mini-Marshall Plan' for the Philippines

Into the swirl of debate questioning the new role which Japan is to play as an economic superpower, Japan has dropped a somewhat foreboding answer in its recently announced pledge of \$1 billion in aid to the Philippines as part of the multilateral Philippine Aid Program.

Seemingly oblivious to the criticisms that this proposed "Mini-Marshall Plan" will only foster corruption, inhibit structural reforms and put pressure on the Philippine government for the retention of the U.S. bases, Japan proudly topped the list of 19 donor countries which gathered in Tokyo for the July 3-5 pledging session.

This move casts serious shadow on Japan's self-purported will to contribute to the peace and prosperity of all of Asia and the world, and instead strongly hints that the economic role which Japan envisions for itself is one of self-aggrandizement.

In an attempt to counter these developments, Philippine movement leaders and solidarity groups in Japan joined together in launching the Philippine Aid Plan Campaign. At the same time that the pledging session was being held in Tokyo, this campaign sponsored numerous grassroots events throughout the country in order to publicize the negative effects of the proposed aid plan.

The campaign was initiated at the Philippine-Japan Forum held in Tokyo on June 26, 1989. The comments of the main panel speakers, summarized below, highlight the main issues related to Japanese official development assistance (ODA), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank funding policies, the need for massive structural reforms, and the tie between aid and the military in the Philippines.

### Horacio Morales, PRRM - Assessment of the PAP

This is an opportunity for people's movement groups to take a critical look at aid cooperation and to give observations on the proposed aid plan.

In assessing the PAP, we must document the situation of underdevelopment in the Philippines. Note the following facts:

-there are more poor people now under the Aquino government than ever before

-the current income distribution is the most uneven among middle income countries

-70% of the people live below the poverty level (among the Asian countries, only Bangladesh exceeds this percentage)

-the economy is controlled by fewer than 100 families

-the U.S. controls the key sectors of the economy (eg. banking, food processing). These facts reveal the Philippines as a neo-colonial culture.

In 1988, the Philippines experienced a 6.7% growth rate, giving people the impression that the economy has been revived. Yet this growth is distorted because it was achieved at great cost and relies on borrowing. The growth is

highly speculative and centered in the construction industry, not based on any long-term growth plan. Also, the resources that are being destroyed are not mentioned in the growth figures.

There are two main problems with PAP:

- 1) Additionality (of aid) does this money represent new money or does this \$2 million a year include money that has already been promised?
- 2) Conditionality as this aid is tied to the purchasing of equipment from the multinationals of the donor countries, does it merely result in aid to these businesses and firms? Since it was agreed that no PAP aid would be given until the Philippines signed a new letter of intent with the IMF, doesn't this plan implement IMF conditionality as its framework?

Aid is not responding to the needs of the Philippines. What is needed is industrialization and land reform, not the mild reforms in industry which are being implemented to deal with the balance of payments and the foreign debt. PAP should be called off until a thorough program of economic restructuring is designed. Such a program must be formulated by the Philippines, not by the donor countries.

We must question Japan's vision of development for the Philippines - its long term plan. Only the popular movement can provide a real development alternative to the one which is now being proposed.

Raphael Mariano, KMP - Land Reform
Despite Aquino's supposed land reform,
landlessness continues. In Negros, 82%
are landless. For every 100 hectares of
land, 73 are owned by 3.9% of the
landowners. 54.7% of the human rights
violations are against peasants. In
order to address such social injustice,
real land reform must be implemented. In
the Philippines, land equals justice,
food equals freedom.

# Noel DeDios, UP - Aid vs Structural Reform

The Philippines needs economiassistance and a substantial reduction of debt repayments. But the solution is not an increase in official assistance PAP is based on a flawed economia program and indicates the docile debt stance which the government has adopted Big business interests want to use OD to finance their own projects. In fact the Philippine government is having a difficult time proposing public projects for financing. An increase in aid will only foster more corruption and allow the elites to void making structura reforms.

## Loretta Rosales, Bayan - PAP and the Retention of the Bases

PAP is being used as a carrot to pressure the Philippines on the bases issue. U.S. base rentals and hardware are being used for the "total war" policy against the peasants which the U.S. claims to be helping. These military attacks and bombing operations have displaced 300,000 Filipino peasants who are now living in refugee camps scattered throughout 35 provinces.

Although PAP is supposed to be economic in nature, it would help, indirectly, the military agenda. PAP is not new. It was first offered to Marcos as early as 1984 to protect the U.S. military interests in the Philippines. But Marcos lost popularity and was no longer useful to the U.S. so the plan was pushed through to Cory.

#### Five-Point Statement of Appeal to the Japanese People and Their Government

- 1. Reject ODA in the form of the U.S. dictated PAP.
- 2. Suspend further ODA to the Philippines pending further investigation of its uses by an independent body.
- 3. Review ODA policies and programs pertaining to the Philippines.
- 4. Reorient ODA to responsive development strategies addressed to agrarian reform and the needs of the people.

5. Strengthen solidarity bonds between he Philippines and Japan for regional eace and stability.

#### THE PEOPLES ODA

The Rev. Maejima, NCC/J General Secretary working with the Negros Campaign Committee in Japan has planned an alternative ODA project between Japan and the Philippines. This project is carried out at the people's level, and is an attempt to provide an alternative to the government's ODA program at a time when Japan's total ODA expenditure in 1988 is approximately US\$13,500,000,000 while Japan's national defense budget is three times more than its ODA.

In the following Mr. Maejima indicates how he came to be involved in Philippine issues:

"I went to the Philippines for the first time in the Spring of 1972 visiting Manila and various places. I experienced an unforgettable incident while I was living in Mindanao. My neighbor's baby died from malnutrition and starvation. The father went to the city to look for work and the mother had no milk for the baby, nor money to buy food.

Beyond the small houses where we lived there was a large banana plantation, and each day there was an abundant harvest of bananas. But people could not eat them, for all of them were exported to Japan and other countries."

He stresses that the change from the Marcos' autocratic administration to the new government of Mrs. Aquino did not bring solutions to the problems in the Philippines. The Philippines and Japan people's exchange program was promoted in order to create people's autonomy in the midst of the poverty caused by the oppression and exploitation by multinational cooperations and large land-owners.

After martial law was decreed in the

fall of 1972 the relations between Japan and the Philippines changed significantly. After martial law, the numbers of tourists and business investments increased.

As a result of Japan's military invasion during the Pacific war people did not have good feelings toward the Japanese, but martial law was effective even in oppressing people's attitudes and feelings.

Mr. Maejima says that Japan invaded the Philippines by military power and now Japanese industries are invading the country under the protection of the Philippine military. The economic invasion has triggered various problems such as environmental destruction, water pollution, human rights violations and economic exploitation.

In order to see the faces of other Asians we must learn the system of food distribution. For example, we must know how the chicken that we eat came to our table. A huge amount of grain is consumed by chickens yet so many people are starving in Asia because they lack grain.

The Negros Campaign Committee is pursuing an alternative food distribution system, so that an equal amount of profit will be shared. In order to make a new attempt we must face many problems, but we cannot give up in our attempt. Then, new possibilities may be opened up.

For three and half years the Negros Campaign Committee has been involved in activities fostering the cooperation between the peoples of the Philippines and Japan and are now promoting banana tree plantations on mountain cliffs and land that is dormant. The problems related to the transportation of bananas without the use of chemicals are being worked out step by step. The first bananas from the Philippines arrived at Yokohama port. For the first time we could enjoy the taste of natural bananas.

#### PROTEST PACEX

On June 19, 1989 the following letter was taken to Mr. Yamazaki, Japanese Government Minister of the Self-Defense Forces.

A recent report indicates that Japan's Self-Defense Forces will join in the one month long Pacific Exercises (PACEX) sponsored by the US forces and commencing September 1st, 1989. This PACEX exercise will be the largest scale military drill in the history of the Pacific Ocean.

We are told that not only the US army, navy, air-force, and marines are going to join in these war games, based upon a hypothetical confrontation between the USA and USSR, but also as allies of the USA, so also will Korea, the Philippines, and Japan's Self-Defense Forces be included in PACEX under the direction of the US Pacific Military Headquarters.

The area of war games will be extended to the outskirts of Kamchatka Peninsula, the sea of Okhotsk, and the Japan Sea. The Japan SDF, which has been repeatedly practicing straits blockade, ocean defense, and sea-lane sentry exercises, carries out these maneuvers which are a part of the Japan-US defense cooperation exercises. The PACEX scenario would include the enforcement and scrutiny of military cooperation.

We are very much concerned with this reality. The superpowers are heading further toward detente. Both the USA and the USSR are trying to decrease military arms, and especially the USSR has declared a withdrawal of armed forces from the Asia-Pacific region. Therefore, this is a great opportunity to change the trends of the arms race in the East-Asia and North-West Pacific areas.

However, PACEX rejects completely this opportunity brought about by these changes. Moreover, by Japan's participation in this exercise, peace

and security in the region is no strengthened, but rather PACEX places u in a crisis war situation which threatens our lives. As the newspaper have reported PACEX is to demonstrate the collective self-defense prerogative which is negated by Japan's constitution.

The basic Self-Defence Force explanation in this regard is one in which Japan only participates in Japan-US joint exercises without PACEX involvement. But relative to this understanding PACEX participation is not legal. Therefore this explanation only covers up falsehoods.

With these understandings we oppose PACEX itself and Self-Defense Forces involvement in the exercise.

In order that more people can seriously consider these issues we would like to have your answers to the following points.

- 1. Will the Self-Defense Forces join in PACEX? If so, which units of the SDF are participating?
- Besides Japan, what other national military forces are participating in PACEX?
- 3. What scenario of PACEX is Japan's SDF to join in?
- 4. Will our demand that the SDF not join in PACEX make any difference in the outcome?

Please give us your answers regarding the above matters.

Signed by 10 citizens groups including the Japan Catholic Justice and Peace Commission and the Peace Committee of National Christian Council in Japan

JUNE IN OKINAWA
CITIZENS' RESPONSE TO MILITARISM

ne 6: "The time has come for Okinawa say 'No' to US military bases" ncludes a daily columnist in an inawa newspaper, reflecting on US litary buildup, on the energy and time tizens expend in protesting base esence and related accidents, and on e \$45,000 subsidy for every US litary personnel which Japanese xpayers pay under the US/Japan forces reement.

me 7: A US marine helicopter with gine trouble makes an emergency anding in Yomitan Town, increasing txiety of local citizens regarding the ver-present threat to human life.

nne 8: The Japanese education ministry mounces new teachers' handbook irectives enforcing the use of the ising sun flag and the controversial ong "kimigayo" (unofficial national nthem) "to make children understand the ong includes a prayer for the rosperity of our country and to deepen ur love and respect of the Emperor," a rogram which exhibits disturbing imilarities to prewar education oncepts.

une 9: Owners of off-base housing for S military personnel appeal to the apanese Government which has subsidized construction of 3,275 on-base housing mits in the last nine years at US military request, leaving many of the 7,000 off-base housing units vacant and the local landlords in financial straits.

June 9: US Marine Corps Commander Alfred M. Gray announces a two-day flight moratorium in US marine bases throughout the world to conduct safety drills in order to reduce the sharp increase in flight accidents which have already taken the lives of 45 US marine personnel in 1989.

June 15: The frightened crew of a local fishing boat, engaging in nighttime fishing off the south coast of Okinawa, experience what they declare was the explosion of a bomb dropped by a US military plane flying overhead. Defense administration authorities describe the deafening roar as a sonic boom caused by

one of the seventy five F-15 jets based at Kadena Base engaging in night-flying drills.

June 16: Kin Town fishermen's co-op protest the polluting of fishing waters, the damage to the town's only local port and other damages imposed by local US military presence, which endanger the Okinawa fishing industry.

June 19: Newly-appointed US Ambassador to Japan Michael Armacost visits Okinawa in an attempt to deal with local opposition to the heavy US military presence in Okinawa. (His remarks on that occasion are available upon request.)

June 21: The Japanese Maritime Safety Bureau announces it will test water for evidence of radioactivity in eight locations in the area where a fighter plane carrying a hydrogen bomb fell off a US aircraft carrier into the ocean off Okinawa 24 years ago, depositing the plane, pilot, and bomb on the ocean floor.

June 23: Over 5000 citizens participated in the Okinawa Prefecturesponsored ceremony commemorating the 44th anniversary of the end of the bloody Battle of Okinawa. Smaller ceremonies and memorial services were held throughout Okinawa, especially at the southern tip of the main island, toward which advancing US forces pushed Japanese military and Okinawa citizens in the last days of the battle. Onefourth of the Okinawa citizens lost their lives either by being caught in the cross-fire or by mass suicides ordered by Japanese military to prevent both citizens and military from being captured.

This year Okinawa citizens sensed afresh the importance of commemorating the day, in light of the proposed bill now before the prefecture assembly to do away with celebration of the day as a prefecture holiday. Citizens of Okinawa, once known as "The peaceful kingdom" and now labeled "Keystone of the Pacific" by the US military, vow, "We must continue to tell the Okinawa story to our children and to all who do not know war!" to the

end that "Never again...!"

June 24: The Okinawa teachers' union at its 24th assembly approves a statement opposing the return to prewar militaristic education and the increase of US military bases and drills.

June 27: A Japanese historian, textbook writer and former professor of education at Tokyo University loses a 22-year court appeal in the Tokyo High Court in which he challenges the constitutionality of the government monopoly on textbook screening and approval. The ruling represents a blow to educators who are calling for a democratic textbook selection process.

June 29: Local tourism is experiencing a boost from the sudden increase of Taiwanese people traveling to Okinawa for sightseeing and shopping. Political unrest in China has caused many to cancel trips to China to meet relatives, a practice approved by the Taiwanese government since last year.

June 30: All 662 students of Miyamori Elementary School in Ishikawa City join together to present 1000 folded-paper cranes and flowers, and to pray for peace during the memorial ceremony commemorating the 30th anniversary of an accident in which a flaming US military jet crashed into the school, killing 11 pupils and 6 other persons.

The above was reprinted from "Okinawa Outlook", July 1989 edition. It is a publication of the Okinawa Christian Center.

#### CHINA OBSERVATIONS

The repercussions of the Tiananmen incident are far reaching. In 1997 the British colony of Hong Kong will be turned over to China. As a result of the Chinese government's brutal repression of the students in Tiananmen, the citizens of Hong Kong are rethinking their future when Hong Kong comes under Chinese Government control.

Mr. Pao Ping Wing, a former Urban Rur Mission (URM) worker in Hong Kong presently serving his third term as representative of the Urban Council Hong Kong, spoke at the Nation Christian Council in Japan about trecent events in China and timplications for Hong Kong.

He described the citizen's of Hong Konas having lost "confidence" in China at the possibilities for that country future control of Hong Kong. As result, the issue of migration has conto the forefront as people rethink the future in Hong Kong. Last year 42,00 people migrated, 23,000 of those gointo Canada alone.

Such large scale migration brings wit it two significant consequences; a los of both experience and capital. Thos who are qualified to migrate make up the mainstream of Hong Kong taxpayers therefore the city is threatened with loss of revenue.

There have also been attempts to lur workers away from Hong Kong. Singapor Airlines recently advertised in Hon Kong that they wanted to hire flight engineers, promising immigrant status those who were accepted. 800 people were hired. In another incident the government of Singapore announced that they will accept 1000 skilled laborer into the country - 15,000 people applies for these positions.

Hong Kong citizens hold Britis passports and naturally many hope to migrate there. In June a legislative assembly delegation went to Britai intending to fight for the right of entrance for Hong Kong citizens wanting to immigrate. However, the Britis Government has changed its citizen act, and as a result, those holding British passports cannot be guarantee entrance into Britain. The population of Hong Kong is 3.5 million. Britain has announced that it will accept on 25,000 families over the next 8 years.

Before the incident in China it was sin for Hong Kong "liberals" to speak o migration. However, the environment ha since changed. One well-known Hong Kon beral now describes applying for gration as "buying insurance", and es no fault in such a decision. It pears now as if the majority of people e talking about migration and sensing e urgency in doing so. It is said at if you wait one day to apply, it is e equivalent of adding one more year your wait. TROM WEREN

long Kong has lots of freedom but no emocracy" said Pao, referring to the act that Hong Kong has no epresentatives who are directly elected nto the legislative assembly. Before ne Tiananmen incident there was much ebate over the issue of direct lections and democracy in Hong Kong, et no consensus. Yet now the events in hina have contributed to a kind of nity among Hong Kong citizens regarding hese issues. It is now agreed upon, by oth liberals and conservatives alike, hat it is important to build up emocracy in Hong Kong before the ransition in 1997, to set it into place s a kind of "insurance" for the future.

r. Pao stressed the importance of the ontinuation and strengthening of people o people contacts; and encouraged the church in Japan to maintain and build pon its relationship with the church in hina.

#### AN ECHO FROM TIANANMEN

On the last day of the demonstration You did not speak out any longer You wore black arm bands.

Again and again,

You sang the national anthem with low voices.

You could not cry any longer.

For three days after the night of May 16 You walked to Beijing in order to support other students.

From June 4 you could not move away from

the radio.

Thinking of friends who were not able to return from Tiananmen.

You demonstrated in order to let others know the news from Beijing.

The military was placed in the university.

Military police patrolled to and fro. You were killed again.

You demonstrated for the friends who were arrested.

You said, "We have lost. We were tricked."

I don't believe that "You have lost." I don't believe that "You were tricked."

Be brave and sing continuously Let there be life! The day when you can smile again, You can believe, hope and love.

by Keiko Morita AMITY FOUNDATION TEACHER OF JAPANESE

# OMINOUS YASUKUNI

We walked up the busy Tokyo street from the subway heading for yet another shrine. The street, buildings and sky were gray -- the park across the street ahead subdued in dark greens and browns. As we came around the bend, a "Torii" jumped out at us. No vermillion gracefulness of the gates of other shrines, this Yasukuni Jinja "Torii" was startling in its starkness, its grayness, its militancy.

The giant gate somehow seemed alive, with the power to step on and crush. Where was the invitation to a respite from the rush and push of daily life felt in so many other sacred spots? Where was the nature, balancing the concrete?

As we journeyed up the wide gray stone path, the vendors sat idly, wares ignored by most at this time of day. School children on summer trips racing along in groups, older people having their pictures taken professionally, men of an age to have served in World War II looking careworn and weary, women and men (obvious by their dress from other parts of the country) walking slowly -all drew us along to the next stark gray "Torii" and on to the main shrine.

At this focal point, the faithful rang the overhead gong, clapped, threw money, and bowed their heads. As we stood to one side, mesmerized by this atmosphere of familiar movements yet unfamiliar undertones, an English sign caught our eye. While the sign seemed to contain a straightforward explanation of the Yasukuni Shrine, our sense of dis-ease grew as we read words indicating veneration and worship of the spirits of those who had died in "struggles and conflicts" for their country. Somehow the Second World War seemed to have vanished. Memorials to those who lost their lives in a war is one thing -- but this was ominous -- a return to pre-1945 attitudes of blind belief that the country's actions are right just because they are the country's actions.

Turning to one side, we walked along a path between walls of bright yellow box-like lanterns, on each of which was written a name in black calligraphy—names, we presumed, of the dead enshrined in this place. These walls were indeed intimidating, forcing ones focus to the main shrine, not allowing freedom of movement nor relationship with nature.

At the end of the path, off to one side in an open area was an old train. This train, with two flags on poles crossed in front waving in the breeze, stirred memories of photos and movie clips of such trains during World War II. The tracks seemed to divulge the history of the occupation of Saipan, Rota, and Tinian (Mariana Islands) and the movie "The Bridge on the River Kwai" flashed through our minds; the images were eerie and not flattering. Indeed, the train was one used between Burma and Thailand, put there to commemorate those who died in the building of that route.

We left, taking our uneasiness with us. We had seen a side of Japan that filled us with a sense of foreboding -- one that we don't want to see revived or to see revered. Remember the history, yes; remember those who lost their lives, yes; but let us remember things as they were, not with distortions or glorifications, not ignoring the reality of the mind set that created horrors of

the past and certainly not lumping the Second World War into a category of "struggle and conflict."

by Jean and Susan Coffman

STATEMENT UPON KCCJ VISITATION TO NORTH KOREA JULY 28,1989

On this date, the delegation from the Korean Christian Church in Japan leaver for Pyongyang, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We do so at the invitation of the Korean Christian Federation of that country. For this invitation and opportunity, we express our sincere thanks.

Five years ago, the Korean Christian Church in Japan established a special committee to study the mission of the church in South and North Korea. This period of time has been one of significant prayer, intense study and the issuing of an official statement on the reconciliation of South and North Korea. In the process of this study we believe we have discovered ways to resolve some of the problems which have existed between our church and the Korean Christian Federation. That relationship obviously has been damaged and complicated by the division of our nation in 1945. Because of this long separation, we rejoice now at the opportunity for this significant meeting.

One meeting will obviously not resolve all the difficult obstacles before us. We are hopeful, though, that this time of sharing with Christian brothers and sisters will be a turning point which will lead eventually to the reconciliation and reunification of sixty million Korean people.

A team of six persons was involved in this trip to North Korea.

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